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ABSTRACT

Forms of address in Afghan society reflect the relationships between the speakers as well as the society's structure. In Afghan Persian, or Dari, first, second, and last names have different semantic dimensions. Boys' first names usually consist of two parts or morphemes, of which one may be part of the father's name. Girls' names usually consist of only one part, but sometimes two. Where the actual first name is considered to consist of a subordinate, or common, name plus a proper given name, the proper name is used. In cases where both parts are considered important, both must be used. Ox-names or nicknames may also be used in place of the given name. In some cases an honorific or a patronymic name may be used. A teknonymous name (a kinship name plus the relative's first name) is used when the addressee is older than the addressor. Married parents address each other with the eldest child's name; childless couple uses /o:/ ("hey!") or a kinship pattern. Younger family members use a kinship term rather than a name to address older members. Diminutives are used between peers and by older members in speaking to younger ones. Generally, the use of titles must include the first name and may or may not include the last name; and the majority of people in Afghanistan do not have a last name. Like the use of names, kinship terms, and titles, Dari pronouns of address reflect varying degrees of respect, power, education, and age. (AM)

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NAMING AND ADDRESS

IN AFGHAN SOCIETY

The University of Texas at Austin

1975

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Preface

The type of naming and forms of address in Afghan society are different from those in American society. That made me think about the social structure of Afghans, particularly those who speak Dari (Persian).

This study is based on three sources. The reference sources are: (1) Roger Brown and Marguerite Ford's article, "Address in American English" in Language in Culture and Society, edited by Dell Hymes and published by Harper and Row, 1964; (2) "Nuer Modes of Address," by E.E. Evans-Pritchard, in Language in Culture and Society, edited by Dell Hymes and published by Harper and Row, 1964; and (3) Roger Brown and Albert Gilman, "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity" in Readings in the Sociology of Language, edited by Joshua A. Fishman and published by Mouton, 1968.

The second source is based on data from my Afghan friends, whom I have contact with off and on. I asked them questions about the type of naming and forms of address used in their families. One observation was made through taping; I taped what they said during a picnic at Zilker Park, while the adults were playing cards and the children were playing near the table. This group included two families, the Burhans and Wasiqis, as well as Mr. S. Popal and Mr. M.O. Azizi. At the time, they were all going to school here at the University. I am grateful for their participation, and I thank them for their interest in my project and their patience in working with me.

The third source is my own experience in and knowledge about Afghan culture. I was born in a village and lived there up to age 13. The rest of my life has been spent in Kabul, the capital city of Afghanistan, where I received my secondary education, as well as higher education. I still remained in

frequent contact with my family. I have had experience both with the village life, as well as that of the city, from the lowest level of society up to the highest.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge and express my appreciation for the interest and constructive feedback given to me by Dr. Joel Sherzer. Without his considerable interest concerning Afghan society and helpful suggestions, it would have been impossible to develop the content of this study.

INTRODUCTION

Conversation between two people usually requires a certain selection of linguistic forms. This selection is governed by the relationship which exists between the people who are involved as speaker and as listener. The use of linguistic forms which are relational is not predictable. It is only predictable from the properties of the dyad (Brown and Ford, p.234). Kinship terms constitute a restricted language relationship, and this relationship might be different in different languages. In other words, each language carries its own set of rules according to the social structure of the society where that particular language is spoken. For example, there is no term in English to distinguish between maternal and paternal aunt, but in Dari (Afghan Persian) there are two different forms that distinguish the maternal aunt /xalaé/ from the paternal aunt /æmáe/. If you have the two aunts at home, let's say during the Christmas season, it is impossible in English to use the kinship term "aunt" to address the one that you really wish to chat with, unless you use her proper name as well. Proper names, according to Brown and Ford, "constitute a nearly universal language of relationship." They serve to show the relationship of the semantic dimensions to all members of the society, but the patterns may have differences related to each individual language. Before entering the main discussion of the types of address used in Afghan society, I would like to give a little information about naming. That is, Afghans' first name, second name, and last names have different semantic dimensions.

THE PRINCIPLE PATTERNS OF AFGHAN NAMES

Generally, the social structure in Afghan society is to give a name to a child on the third day of his birth. This may be with or without ceremony. The name is given mostly by parents and sometimes by very intimate relatives or friends. The given name is retained and preserved throughout the child's life. These names are for the most part taken from Arabic, but they are pronounced in the local dialect in colloquial speech.

Examples: Mohammad /mamaǽd/ /maǽd/ (boy's name)

Halima /ǽlimaǽ/ (girl's name)

The personal names given to children generally fall into two patterns in regard to sex, the boys' and the girls' names.

I. Differences Between Boys' and Girls' Names

A. Boys' Names

A boy's given name is usually composed of two parts or morphemes.[1] These parts may or may not be part of the father's name. For example, my name and my younger brother's name each shares with our father's name, shown in the following:

My father's name is Sayd Alam.

My name is Mohammad Alam.

My brother's name is Sayd Agha.

My youngest brother's name, however, is Habibullah, which has nothing to do with any of the above names. During the last two decades naming has been changed, and it is not necessary that a child's partial name be taken from his ancestors' names. Because of this change, it is also

possible that a name of one morpheme only is given to the child, such as "Bashir, Farid, Homayun," or "Khalil."

As mentioned earlier, each child traditionally has one given name consisting of two parts. One of these parts, either the first or the last part, may have one of the following very common names: Mohammad, Abdul, Gholam, Ali, Khan, Jan, Shah, Din, and -Ullah. They may be joined with each other or may be combined with other names in order to complete the whole given name, such as "Mohammad Nabi, Abdul Ali, Mohammad Ali, Din Mohammad, Habibullah, Khan Mohammad," etc. The phonemic transcription of these and other names is according to the general common pronunciation of people in Kabul.

Mohammad Nabi	/mǽd næbí/
Abdul Ali	/æbdulælí/
Mohammad Ali	/mamǽd ælí/
Din Mohammad	/dinmamǽd/
Habibullah	/æbibulá/
Khan Mohammad	/xán mamǽd/
Jan Mohammad	/jánmamǽd/
Abdul Mohammad	/æbdul mamæd/
Ali Mohammad	/ælyamǽd/

B. Girls' Names

Girls' names usually consist of only one part and are mostly taken from Arabic. Many of these names are distinguished from the boys' names by the Arabic morphological rule: the morpheme "-a" or /æ/ is added as a suffix to the male's name to create a female's

name.

Examples:

Boys' Names	Girls' Names
Halim + a	Halima
Jamil + a	Jamila
Najib + a	Najiba
Hamid + a	Hamida

A number of girls' personal names refer to the beauty of nature or to very important things in the world, such as flower, breeze, soul, the light of the moon, stars, etc.

Name	Phonemic Transcription	Meaning[2]
Wazhmakay	/waəžmaəkaə́y/	'breeze'
Nurani	/nuraní/	'shiness'
Zarghun	/zaərğún/	'green'
Torpekay	/to:rpekaə́y/	'brunette'
Nasrin	/naəsrín/	'jonquil'
Qamar	/qaəmaə́r/	'moon'

Some girls' names, but rarely, consist of two parts as the boys' do. "Begom" and "Khanom" 'lady' are the two popular women's names which combine with another given name. For example,

Khan Begom	/xan beygóm/
Begom Jan	/beygóm ján/
Gol Khanom	/gól xaném/

These are Afghan traditional ladies' names which are still more popular in the country rather than in the cities. In the cities, people

tend to have one short word name, such as the Arabic names "Jamila" and "Kamila," or non-Arabic names as "Homa, Zeyba, Fereyba," etc.

The popular common names which have been mentioned earlier are counted as subordinators to the actual real given names. In other words, the common names such as "Mohammad" are not the core part of the first name (FN). For example, my proper name is "Alam" and "Mohammad" is the subordinator to my first name. The semantic dimension involved in Afghan social structure serves the relationship of these two parts of names as shown in the following pattern:

(SN) + PN = FN

(Subordinating noun (SN), Proper given noun (PN), First name (FN) Subordinating nouns are so common that they are not treated as proper nouns; that is, there are thousands of "Mohammads." All of them will say "yes" if they are called by "Mohammad." There is no way to distinguish between them unless to call them by the second portion of their names.

In the case of "Gholam Mohammad" in which both portions are common, the commonality of "Gholam" is lesser than "Mohammad," so "Gholam" can be the proper given name (PN).

In the case of some names, both portions of FN are important; that is, SN and PN have to be pronounced when someone is addressed by his FN. For example, "Khan Mohammad, Jan Mohammad," and "Sayd Alam" are all supposed to be pronounced fully but the contraction of both portions is allowed.

Khan Mohammad	/xanmǽd/
Jan Mohammad	/janmǽd/
Sayd Alam	/saeydalǽm/

"Jan, Khan," and "Sayd," besides being PN, are also honoritic names; this is why they are not considered the core portion of FN. On the other hand, "Mohammad" and "Gholam" are the subordinators. Therefore, both portions combined constitute a linguistic form of one FN.

In the sense of American second names, there is no second name in the Afghan naming system. The semantic dimension of American names has a relationship to one's ancestors. This relationship does not appear in the semantic dimension of Afghan names. In other words, the two portions of FN are considered as one full name. Neither of these two portions, SN or PN, is related to the child's maternal and paternal grandparents' names. The rule which reveals the semantic dimension of the Afghan norm is either both portions of FN are pronounced as one full name with possible contraction forms, as in "Ali Mohammad" /aelyamáed/, or each part is treated as two different segments which still have the prestige of being an FN and not a second name, such as "Mohammad Sharif" /mamaed šaerif/. There is no second name at all in Afghan names.

In America, it is usually allowed to name someone in lineal descent; that is, it is common that a boy be named for his father or maybe his grandfather. The only way to distinguish between the boy and his parent's name is to use the Junior (Jr.) at the end of the boy's name and Senior (Sr.) after the parent's name, such as Dudley McCalla Sr. and Dudley McCalla Jr. This form of being a senior or a junior is not revealed in Afghans' names. It might happen, but rarely, that someone will receive his grandfather's first name but not his father's first name. He would not, however, be called after his grandfather as a junior.

We can summarize the above discussion in three linguistic rules:

1. Many Afghans have one first name (FN) which consists of two parts, the SN, such as "Mohammad, Gholam, Abdul," and PN, such as "Alam" as in "Mohammad Alam" and "Sakhi" as in "Gholam Sakhi."
2. If the SN and PN are treated as two different morphemes, the PN is the real given name. If "Gholam Mohammad" is considered as two different morphemes, "Gholam" is the PN. The pause (juncture) between the two segments is terminal /+/ and each one takes the primary stress on the last syllable, such as /ɣolam+mamaéd/.
3. If the two parts of FN are treated as one segment, there will be a close juncture between SN and PN and the last syllable of the contracted form receives the primary stress while the last syllable of SN takes the weak stress: Mohammad Jan /ˈmàmaˈjánˈ/.

II. Ox-name, Nickname

The use of an ox-name as well as a nickname is common in Afghan society. An ox-name[3] refers to either a gallant action or to some kind of animal that is brave and forceful like the lion, tiger, wolf, etc. Such names appear in the following pattern:

/ezmaɛraéy/	'lion'
/to:ɣyalaéy/	'brave'
/góɾg/	'wolf'

Nicknames usually refer to an admired animal, mostly the 'lion' or to the beauty of plants or nature, such as "Gol" 'flower,' "Ghotay" 'plant,' "Espozhmay" or "Qamar" 'moon,' "Setara" or "Storay" 'star.'

Each child, as we said, is addressed by his other given name. A child

may also be given either an ox-name or a nickname. The general pattern in the Afghan norm is to give only a nickanme to a girl, such as "Qamargol" 'moon and flower,' "Sheringol" 'the sweet smell of flower,' etc. Giving either an ox-name or a nickname to a boy is optional; that is, boys can receive one, such as "Ezmaray" 'lion,' "Sheragha" 'the master of the lion,' "Golagha" 'the master of the flower,' etc. These ox-names and nicknames may replace the FN. There are many people who are called by these names.

In Dari, the use of "Khan" 'Mr.' and "Jan" 'Miss, Mrs.' is reciprocal; that is, the vast majority of all dyads exchange mutual FN plus "Jan" at the end of a girl's name and "Khan" at the end of a boy's name, such as:

Boys' Names	Girls' Names
Sharif Khan!	Sharifajan!
Latif Khan!	Latifajan!
Khalil Khan!	Homajan!

"Khan" will never be used with girls' names, but on the other hand "Jan" is used with boys' annes either as a portion of FN, as in "Jan Mohammad" or a post FN as in "Gholam Jan." These are used especially with youngsters. For example, one of my informant's son's name is "Khalil" and I call him "Khalil Jan."

III. Honoritic Names

Some male children inherit the honoritic name of their clan for their first name. In other words, in addition to the two portions of FN, the HN is added as a preunit to his name. HN can be categorized in the following groups:

Religious Inheritant	Tribal Inheritant
Agha	Safi
Hazrat	Sardar
Khoja	Ghelzaiy
Mir	Popalzaey
Saybzada	
Sheykh	

The child inherits an HN from the religious group depending on what family he was born into. This child is addressed mostly by his HN, plus "sayb" 'sir,' such as "Mir-sayb!, Hazrat-sayb!, Khoja-sayb!," etc. The same rule is applicable to the tribal group for Sardar, but the others such as and "Popalzaey" are the individual choice of the tribal member if he wants to use it as a last name (LN). We'll discuss this more in the section discussing last names (LN).

Patronymic names is a sort of address in which a young boy or girl is called by his father's name. It is mostly used when a child is young. The words /baɐcáɐ/ 'boy or son' and /doxtáɐr/ 'girl or daughter' are used as preunits to the father's name, such as /baɐcé šáɐrif/ 'the son of Sharif!' and /doxtáɐre kaɐrím/ 'the daughter of Karim!'.

It is also possible to use patronymic names with a child's father's title in the same pattern, such as /doxtáɐre waɐzír/ 'the daughter of the Minister' and /baɐcé raɐyís/ 'the son of the President,' etc.

IV. Teknonymous Names

Generally, it is the norm of Afghan society that addressing someone by his first name is insulting if the addressee is much older than the

addresser. In order to avoid this insult, a teknonymous name, which is the combination of a kinship name and a relative's first name (FN), is used among the people. For example,

/pǽdáer/ 'father' (kinship name) + Layla (FN)

/pǽdáere laeylá/ 'Layla's father.'

In American English, the teknonymous name is used without FN. The social pattern is such that parents who have children and who are called 'daddy' and 'mother' by their children often call each other 'daddy' or 'mother.' I don't believe that aiults without children address each other by using the kinship terms, 'daddy' or 'mama.'

In Afghanistan, the married couple with children rarely address each other or are referred to by their FN; that is, within the social structure people try to avoid the use of FN. There is the exception of those who have been highly educated in the western countries and have adopted the western notion of using FN. Married parents address each other by using the names of the eldest children which might suggest that they are old people. The eldest child's name is usually used, whether a boy or a girl; occasionally a second child's name is used. For example, the husband may call his wife /madáere ǧolám/ or /bobóye ǧolám/ 'the mother of Gholam.' The wife may call the husband /aǧáye ǧolám/ or /babé ǧolám/ 'the father of Gholam,' etc.

In the case of a lack of children, married couples may address each other by using either /o:/ or /u/ 'hey' or a kinship pattern.

The /o:/ pattern, which comes from the underlying form /o: baecáe/ 'hey boy!' or /o: doxtáer/ 'hey girl!,' is used among the people in the

country. The semantic dimension of using /o:/ reveals the shyness of the members of society. They make this utterance only to make the addressee pay attention to them. The kinship pattern, such as /doxtaére aemaé/ 'the daughter of my paternal aunt' or /doxtaére xalaé/ 'the daughter of my maternal aunt' (generally cousin), also has popular use among couples who have married their first or second cousins. The marriage between two cousins is legal in Afghanistan.

I had a married couple from the northern part of Afghanistan who served as informants here in Austin. Throughout my observation, they never used each other's first names (FN), nor did they use any nicknames. I asked them if they had any nicknames and they answered that they didn't. I asked what they called each other. The husband said, "most of the time how to call each other is understandable between us, but sometimes I use my oldest son's name" (Teknonymous name). His wife said that she never uses her husband's name. "It is a shame for me to do it." What she said is that she is too shy to use her husband's FN or last name.

V. Kinship Names

As we said before, the use of FN by the younger members of a family to address the older ones is not socially acceptable; therefore, the use of kinship names is very popular. It is a nonreciprocal address; that is, a younger person usually gives the kinship name and receives his FN. The kinship names in the Afghan norm can be distinguished between any member of the family or relatives.

mother	/madaér/, /bobo:/, /naenaé/
father	/babaé/, /aǧa/

sister	/aɛmširáɛ/ /xwár/
brother	/beradaɛ́r/
wife	/zaɛ́n/ ./xanóm/
husband	/šaɛwaɛ́r/ ./šúy/
elder brother	/lalá/ ./kakáɛ/
elder sister	/apáɛ/ ./xowár/ ./aɛmširáɛ/
uncle (maternal)	/mamá/ ./xalú/
uncle (paternal)	/kaká/ ./aɛmú/
aunt (maternal)	/xalaɛ́/
aunt (paternal)	/aɛmaɛ́/

Giving a kinship name to an old person is a polite reaction. The semantic dimension of it is to recognize the power of someone who is older than you are. Showing respect to the older generation is part of the social pattern of Afghan society. Even if you address a service man who is older than you are, it is very popular to call him /babaɛ́/ 'father,' or /kaká/ and /mamá/ 'uncle.' The usage of any of these terms depends on what the speaker thinks of it and how he would like to use it. There is not any special pattern or restriction on the use of any of these terms.

Abbreviation and diminuitive forms are used in a nonreciprocal way. The youngster receives a diminuitive form and gives a full kinship name or TN. It could, however, be reciprocal between playmates, or any other person who is at the same age, power, and status.

Examples:

/naɛjó:/	for Najmudin
/qodó:/	for Qodbedin
/xaló:/	for Khalil

The other diminuitive form is the suffix /-æk/ or /-gæk/ as in:

/bæcæ gǽk/ 'little boy'

/doxtærǽk/ 'little girl'

The abbreviation may also be concerned with the use of one portion of FN, such as "Najib" in "Najibullah," "Qodrat" in "Qodratullah," "Zaher" in "Mohammad Zaher," "Madulah" in "Mohammad Ullah," etc.

VI. Last Name

Roger Brown and M. Ford talk about "Address in American English," in Language in Culture and Society, edited by Dell Hymes and published by Harper and Row, 1964, pages 234-244. I found this discussion to be quite different from Afghan society. For example, they say that "the principal option of address in American English is the choice between use of the first name (...FN) and use of a title with the last name (TLN)." They continue and say, "these linguistic forms follow a rule that is truly relational." I agree with them in the sense of application of the linguistic rule in American English, but if we compare this with the Afghan Persian (Dari), it is impossible to follow this rule. For example, (1) the majority of people in the Afghan society do not have a last name. They are usually addressed by their first names. (2) If they do have a last name, like the educated ones, they would never be addressed by a title with their last name (TLN). The norm of address does not appear in the same pattern as it does in English. That is, the social structure in the Afghan norm is to emphasize the use of FN rather than the LN. For example, it sounds very natural to say "Mermon Shafiqa," 'Mrs. Shafiqa' or with the last name "Mermon Shafiq Zeyaiy," 'Mrs. Shafiqa Zeyaiy!'. But

"Mermon Zeyaiy" occurs very rarely.

As I mentioned earlier, the notion of using the last name with a title name has been developed quite recently, and some new titles for different genders have been innovated in Pashto, the second official language of Afghanistan. These titles have been adapted into Dari very easily:

Shaghelay	'Mr.'
Mermon	'Mrs.'
Peghla	'Miss'

The professional titles such as doctor, engineer, mechanic, etc. have been borrowed from western languages, mostly from English. They are used in the same pattern as the "Mermon, Peghla," and "Shaghelay" titles are: Engineer Ghoffan, Dr. Gholam Nabi, or Dr. Gholam Nabi Jawad, etc.

Occupational titles such as "Khalifa" 'the service man,' "Kharkar" 'donkey driver,' "dehqan" 'farmer, peasant,' "Gelkar" 'mason,' "Najar" 'carpenter,' etc. are used among the people very commonly. The same is true with the higher official occupational titles such as "merza" 'clerk,' "Sarkteb" 'head clerk,' "Modir" 'director, principal,' "rayis" 'president,' and "Wazir" 'minister.' These are used mostly without mentioning their FN. /sáyb/ 'sir' usually follows these title names as in the following:

/raeyísayb/	'Mr. President!'
/modírsayb/	'Mr. Principal!'
/merzásayb/	'Mr. Clerk!'
/Khalifásayb/	'Mr. Serviceman!'

"Khalifa" could also be used without saying "sayb" 'sir'. The use of these titles could be either reciprocal or nonreciprocal. The semantic

power prescribes the usage of these titles either between superior and inferior or between those who have equal power. It depends on the different occasion or situation.

The following patterns are commonly used among the educated people:

(1) /aǧáye borhán/ 'Mr. Burhan!'

(2) /borhán sayb/ 'Mr. Burhan!'

(3) /borhán/ 'Burhan!'

(4) /wasiqi/ 'Wasiqi!'

The semantic use of (1) is formal and nonreciprocal. (2) is more informal and could be either reciprocal and/or nonreciprocal. It depends on who is talking to whom and where. (3) and (4) are informal and reciprocal and must be between those people who have equal power, equal status, or are close friends. The social structure of the Afghan society never accepts the pattern of title and last name only (TLN) without mentioning the first name. For example, if you say /šaǧelaʿy waʿzír popaʿl/* 'Mr. Secretary Popal!' or /šaǧelaʿy waʿzír/* 'Mr. Secretary!,' it is not only incorrect, but also insulting to the addressee. The following patterns are the general norms in Dari:

(1) /šaǧelaʿy waʿzíre maréf/ 'Mr. Secretary of Education!'

(2) /šagelaʿy waʿzíre saybe maréf/ 'Mr. Secretary of Education!'

(3) /jaʿlalaʿtmáb waʿzire saybe maréf/ 'Your Excellency Secretary of Education!'

(4) /waʿzír sayebe maréf/ 'Mr. Secretary of Education!'

(5) /waʿzír sáyb/ 'Mr. Secretary!'

As we can see, the title is specified in the above illustrations except for (5), which is used only by those who are in the lowest rank[4], such as

janitors or very intimate friends and colleagues. The Afghan social structure historically prescribes people to be polite and most of the time a polite form is used. (1) is very formal and nonreciprocal. In other words, a member of parliament or a person with a higher rank, such as the Prime Minister or the King, can address the Minister of Education in that manner. (2) is used by those people who have less power than the Minister of Education. It is a nonreciprocal address and it shows the differences on the two dimensions of levels of power. (3) is used the same way as (2) with a greater degree of politeness. (4) is either reciprocal among the cabinet members or a nonreciprocal address between the people in that ministry and those who have less power.

If someone talks about a third party, it is the common norm in Afghan society that the complete form of title, first name, and last name (if someone has it) be used. For example, if you are talking formally about the president of the University of Kabul, you may have to say /po:hánd doktó:r saɛyd abdúl qadér baɛhá raɛyíse pohaɛntúne kaból/ (literally, professor, doctor, Sayd Abdul Qader, Baha, President of the University of Kabul). In English, which is much easier and shorter than in Dari, you say, "Dr. Baha, President" or "President Baha." Remember that in Dari, you must present the full form of FN and specify when you use TLN, etc. Informally, it is possible to say Dr. Baha, but it must be understood between the dyads that Dr. Baha is the President of Kabul University. Many people prefer to say /raɛyíse saybe po:haɛntún/ (literally, President Sir University) 'the President of the University.' Kabul is deleted here because there is, in the entire country, only one President of the University which is Kabul University.

THE PRONOUNS OF ADDRESS

Dari, like the other Indo-European languages, has also developed two singular pronouns of address. Beginning with:

Latin	tu	and	vos (See Fishman, ed., p. 255)
Italian	tu	and	voi
French	tu	and	vous
Spanish	tu	and	vosotros
German	du	and	sie
English	thou	and	you, and finally
Dari	tu	and	shoma

The plural form "shoma" as a form of address to a singular person might have been directed to the kings and noblemen in the early centuries as it was done in Latin (See Fishman, p. 254). Afghanistan has been ruled by emperors or kings for more than five thousand years. "Shoma" has been directed to the emperor since very early centuries. The use of the plural form of the pronoun (shoma) to a singular person, I believe, has been diffused from either an eastern emperor or a western emperor. As Brown and Gilman say, "the use of the plural to the emperor began in the fourth century. By that time, there actually were two emperors; the ruler of the eastern empire had his seat in Constantinople and the ruler of the west sat in Rome."

Solidarity, as a notion of differentiating address among power equals, has been developed in Dari recently. In other words, another form of pronoun address has come into use. For example, /xodét/ or /xodetán/[5] 'you, yourself.' These forms are more polite than the /tu/ and less polite and more intimate

than /šomá/. Within the use of these forms, the first is less polite than the second one. The use of these forms indicates the equality of power that the dyads have. For example, if A and B address each other and use /xodét/, it means that the dyads have equal power and the type of address used is reciprocal. If the same A and B use /xodetán/, the power is equal but stronger than the first dimension and the address is reciprocal. In the case of A giving /xodét/ and receiving /xodetán/, or vice versa, the semantic dimensions are nonreciprocal and the possession of power is differentiated by the dyads.

Pronoun usage such as /tu/ (T) and /šomá/ (V from Latin vos) usually follows the rule of the nonreciprocal form; in other words, there is an unequality of power between the dyads (T-V). One gives T and receives V. There is also a rule of mutual sharing of V or T between people of equivalent power. That is, one gives T /tu/ and receives /šomá/ or V. The usage of /tu/ and /šomá/ follows the same rule as /xodét/ and /xodetán/.

The difference between the groups of pronouns seems to be the possession of power. /tu/ has the lowest degree of power, while /šomá/ has the strongest degree of power. /xodét/ and /xodetán/ are parallel with /tu/ and /šomá/ in pattern usage.

In general, the use of /tu/ is more applicable between the people in the country side. The service men usually use /tu/ to address each other, which is reciprocal, though having less power and equal status.

/xodét/ and its plural counterpart /xodetán/ are used among the educated people who have equal power and status. The semantic dimension is eith reciprocal or nonreciprocal, depending on which one of these is used to whom and in what circumstances.

/šomá/ is used mostly among the higher and middle classes, and among the educated people. It reveals more power and status than the other two forms. It may cover the three possible dyadic patterns (See Brown and Ford in Hymes ed. p.235):

1. The reciprocal exchange of V↔V.
2. The reciprocal exchange of T↔V.
3. The nonreciprocal pattern in which one person may use T and the other V.

The occurance of these three patterns occurs in a high frequency with some problems. These problems are related to various facts, such as the intimacy between the members of a dyad, their power, and their status.

NOTES

1. I used the term "morpheme" because many of these names are meaningful; that is, each part carries a meaning. For example, in my name, Mohammad refers to "Mohammad" the prophet, and "Alam" means flag. The whole meaning is "the flag of Mohammad."
2. The stress always falls on the last syllable of a noun, adjective, and adverb in Dari.
3. Ox-name has been used by E.E. Evans-Pritchard in "Nuer Modes of Address," section 24, of Language in Culture and Society, edited by Dell Hymes and published by Harper and Row, 1964.
4. The clergymen don't use the high prestige form, such as /jælatmáb/ 'excellency' because of the deficiency of their vocabulary. They do not have those terms in their vocabulary.
5. These forms have been derived from the reflexive pronoun /xod/ 'self.' The two suffix personal pronouns, /-et/ singular, and /-tan/ plural, are added to /xód/: /xodét/ 'yourself' and /xodetán/ 'yourselves.' If the address is directed to one person, the translation might be 'yourself.'

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